

Message Text

PAGE 01 STATE 311056
ORIGIN NEA-10

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 IO-13 ISO-00 SIG-01 /037 R

66011

DRAFTED BY:NEA/IRN:CWNAAS:KMS

APPROVED BY:NEA/IRN:CWNAAS

-----047794 010107Z /66

R 310102Z DEC 77

FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO AMEMBASSY ABU DHABI

USINT BAGHDAD

AMEMBASSY DOHA

USMISSION GENEVA

AMEMBASSY ISLAMABAD

AMEMBASSY JIDDA

AMEMBASSY KABUL

AMEMBASSY KUWAIT

AMEMBASSY MANAMA

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY NEW DELHI

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY ROME

AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 311056

FOLLOWING REPEAT TEHRAN 11408 ACTION SECSTATE INFO LONDON
DATED DEC 27:

QTE: C O N F I D E N T I A L TEHRAN 11408

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PINS SHUM IR

SUBJ: COMMENT ON RECENT STUDENT AND DISSIDENT DISTURBANCES

REF A. TEHRAN 11098 B. STATE 294128

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1. SUMMARY: RECENT DEMONSTRATIONS BY STUDENTS AND ADULT
DISSIDENTS ARE SEPARATE BUT RELATED EFFECTS OF A WELL-
PUBLICIZED LIBERALIZATION UNDERTAKEN BY THE GOI SINCE LAST
SPRING, WHICH IS UNIVERSALLY ATTRIBUTED TO USG PRESSURE.
WE SUGGEST THE COMPLEXITIES OF THE PRESENT SITUATION REQUIRE
US TO AIM OUR INFLUENCE CAREFULLY. WORKING FOR A DECREASE
IN BRUTALITY AND OTHER ABUSES OF THE SECURITY FORCES SHOULD
NOT BE CONFUSED WITH SEEKING MORE EXTENSIVE POLITICAL
CHANGES. THE DYNAMIC OF ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL CHANGE IN
IRAN, WHICH IS FOSTERED BY THE SHAH, IS BOUND TO BRING

POLITICAL PARTICIPATION IN DUE COURSE. END SUMMARY.

2. DISTURBANCES OVER PAST TWO MONTHS FALL IN TWO GENERAL CATEGORIES: THOSE INVOLVING PRIMARILY STUDENTS AT IRANIAN UNIVERSITIES AND THOSE INVOLVING OPPOSITION-IST DISSIDENT ELEMENTS OF A LEFTIST-NATIONALIST CAST OR WHO ARE RELIGIOUSLY ORIENTED. THE UNIVERSITY DISTURBANCES HAVE BECOME AN ANNUAL FALL OCCURRENCE IN IRAN, -ALTHOUGH THEIR REPRESSION IN THE PERIOD 1972-74 RESULTED IN FEWER SUCH DISTURBANCES IN 1975 AND, PARTICULARLY, 1976. THIS FALL ALL SIGNS INDICATE STUDENTS WERE ENCOURAGED TO DEMONSTRATE BY SHAH'S VISIT TO U.S. AND WELL-ADVERTISED LIBERALIZATION OF LOCAL REGIME CONTROLS WHICH PRECEDED IT. THE LIBERALIZATION IS UNIVERSALLY ATTRIBUTED TO USG PRESSURES STEMMING FROM THE HUMAN RIGHTS INTEREST OF THE CARTER ADMINISTRATION AND CONGRESS.

3. CONSIDERABLE EVIDENCE INDICATES THAT OPPOSITION ELEMENTS INCLUDING, PERHAPS, SOME OF THE TERRORIST GROUPS, HAVE ATTEMPTED TO FUEL TRADITIONAL STUDENT ENTHUSIASM WHILE SIMULTANEOUSLY TESTING THE WATERS OF CONFIDENTIAL

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GOVERNMENT TOLERANCE BY OPEN LETTERS AND PETITIONS ALLEGING A VARIETY OF ILLS IN THE CURRENT POLITICAL SYSTEM WHICH CAN ONLY BE CURED BY RADICAL CHANGES TO BRING THE SYSTEM OF INTERNAL POLITICS MORE INTO LINE WITH THEIR INTERPRETATION OF THE IRANIAN CONSTITUTION. IMPLICIT IN ALL, AND EXPLICIT IN SOME, OF THESE MISSIVES HAS BEEN THE DEMAND THAT THE SHAH REIGN AND NOT RULE, EVEN IF HE DOESN'T ABDICATE. MOST MANIFESTOS HAVE BEEN OF A GENERAL NATURE, THOUGH A FEW HAVE BEEN TAILORED TO SPECIFIC AIMS SUCH AS NATIONALIZATION OF MORE INDUSTRIES.

4. PARTICULARLY SPECIFIC HAVE BEEN PETITIONS SIGNED BY LAWYERS, AND IN ONE INSTANCE BY JUDGES, ALLEGING SERIOUSLY BEEN CURTAILED OVER THE PAST YEARS AND REQUIRES IMMEDIATE MENDING. THIS WOULD INVOLVE REPEAL OF SEVERAL LEGAL REFORMS (TEHRAN A-75) WHICH HAVE SET UP ALTERNATIVE (SMALL CLAIMS) COURTS AND A GOVERNMENT SCHOOL FOR JUDGES WITH THE AIM OF IMPROVING THE ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE. (IN FACT, WE ARE STILL TRYING TO REACH OUR OWN ASSESSMENT AS TO THE DEGREE OF DISINTERESTEDNESS AND JUSTICE IN THE JUDGES' DESIRE TO RETURN TO THE JUDICIAL STATUS QUO ANTE.)

5. THE JUDGES' LETTER OF THE TOP JUDGE IN THE COUNTRY (TEHRAN A-176) WAS MET HEAD ON BY THE GOI WITH A REQUEST THAT THE JUDGES RESCIND THEIR MOST POINTED CRITICISMS AND CONTINUE TO FUNCTION WITHIN THE CURRENT SYSTEM WHICH THE GOI CONSIDERED BEST FOR IRAN'S PRESENT

STAGE OF DEVELOPMENT. A DOZEN JUDGES WHO REFUSED TO GO ALONG HAVE BEEN SUSPENDED FROM THEIR DUTIES, BUT WE ARE NOT AWARE OF ANY FURTHER MEASURES TAKEN AGAINST THEM. APART FROM THIS INSTANCE, THERE HAVE BEEN NO MEASURES TAKEN SPECIFICALLY AGAINST PEOPLE WHO HAVE SIGNED THE VARIOUS LETTERS AND PETITIONS TO DATE. IN FACT, THIS SIGNING CONTINUES, THE LATEST BEING A MESSAGE TO THE PRIME MINISTER SIGNED BY 33 DISSIDENTS (TEHRAN 11098).
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6. THE LACK OF GOVERNMENT REACTION TO THESE PETITIONS OVER THE SUMMER, LEADING INTO THE SHAH'S WASHINGTON VISIT, OBVIOUSLY ENCOURAGED THEIR SIGNERS AND MANY OLD OPPOSITIONISTS WHO SYMPATHIZE WITH THEM TO ATTEMPT TO ORGANIZE FURTHER ACTION. A MEETING TOOK PLACE ON THE ROAD BETWEEN TEHRAN AND KARAJ OF OVER A THOUSAND SUCH PEOPLE ON NOVEMBER TWENTY-TWO UNDER THE GUISE OF A SOCIAL GATHERING ON ONE OF IRAN'S HOLY DAYS. THE MEETING WAS BROKEN UP BY SO-CALLED "WORKERS" WHO WERE CLEARLY GOVERNMENT-ORGANIZED AGENTS, VERY THINLY DISGUISED IN THEIR MODUS OPERANDI. THIS WAS A REPEITION OF AN EARLIER APPEARANCE OF SUCH GOVERNMENT AGENTS WHO BROKE UP A STUDENT DEMONSTRATION ON ARYAMEHR UNIVERSITY GROUNDS JUST PRIOR TO OFFICIAL SECURITY POLICE MOVING IN FOR SOME ARRESTS. A SIMILAR INCIDENT OCCURRED AT LAHEJAN MORE RECENTLY, ON DECEMBER EIGHT (TEHRAN 11098), WHEN A SIMILAR GROUP OF GOVERNMENT-ORGANIZED "FARMERS" BEAT UP A WELL-KNOWN DISSIDENT SPEAKER AT A SMALL COLLEGE ON THE CASPAIN SEA AND INJURED SOME OF HIS FRIENDS.

7. THE STUDENT DEMONSTRATIONS THEMSELVES HAVE GENERALLY BEEN PUT DOWN BY MORE CONVENTIONAL MEANS USING POLICE TO CONTAIN OR BREAK THEM UP. THIS HAS GENERALLY OCCURRED ON THE MAJOR UNIVERSITY CAMPUSES, THOUGH IN A COUPLE OF INSTANCES THE DEMONSTRATIONS HAD OVERFLOWED INTO TEHRAN'S STREETS BEFORE THEY WERE FORCIBLY DISPERSED. UNDER ONE HUNDRED STUDENTS HAVE BEEN CHARGED WITH CRIMINAL OFFENSES, AND THOSE HAVE BEEN IN CIVIL COURTS. MOST OF THE ADDITIONAL TWO TO THREE HUNDRED TAKEN INTO CUSTODY HAVE BEEN RELEASED AFTER IDENTIFICATION. THERE HAVE BEEN NO ARRESTS OF ADULT DISSIDENTS INVOLVED IN THE KARAJ OR
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LAHEJAN INCIDENTS. A FEW OTHER CASES IN ISFAHAN, SHIRAZ, AND ELSEWHERE HAVE BEEN SIMILARLY DEALT WITH.

8. MORE OBSCURE AND PUZZLING HAVE BEEN THE CIRCUMSTANCES SURROUNDING DEMONSTRATIONS BY RELIGIOUS PERSONS OR IN THE NAME OF RELIGION. TWO INCIDENTS

ARE DOCUMENTED INVOLVING A RELIGIOUS PREACHER CRITICIZING THE PRESENT STATE OF AFFAIRS AND CALLING FOR THE RETURN OF AYATOLLAH KHOMEINY, A LEFTIST NATIONALIST LEADER WHO HAS FOR MANY YEARS TAKEN REFUGEE IN IRAQ. OTHER DEMONSTRATIONS HAVE BEEN ALLEGED BY THE PRESS AND GOVERNMENT TO INVOLVE EFFORTS BY RELIGIOUS FANATICS AGAINST THE DESEGREGATION OF WOMEN IN UNIVERSITIES AND OTHER AGITATION TO REVERSE THE LIBERALIZING REFORMS OF THE SHAH-PEOPLE, OR "WHITE", REVOLUTION. IN AT LEAST ONE KNOWN INSTANCE THIS SUMMER, A PREACHER SPOKE IN VEILED RELIGIOUS TERMS AGAINST THE SHAH'S RULE, DRAWING A WIDE AUDIENCE IN TEHRAN WITHOUT ANY POLICE REACTION. HIS EFFORT TO SPEAK AGAIN FROM THE SAME MOSQUE, HOWEVER, WAS STERNLY MET BY THE POLICE LAST MONTH, AND HE WAS PREVENTED FROM MAKING FURTHER PUBLIC APPEARANCES.

9. AS THE PRIME MINISTER TOLD THE AMBASSADOR RECENTLY (TEHRAN 10827), THE GOI APPEARS TO HAVE EMBARKED ON A TWO-PRONGED PROGRAM. ON ONE HAND, THERE IS A CONCERTED EFFORT TO GET OUT THE "SILENT MAJORITY" WITH THE ASSISTANCE OF THE RASTAKHIZ PARTY MILITANTS, SO THAT GOVERNMENT AND PARTY WORKERS, PROFESSORS, STUDENTS, PARENTS AND OTHER IDENTIFIABLE GROUPS MAY BE LED INTO POSITIVE DEMONSTRATIONS AND OTHER SHOWS OF LOYALTY TO OVERWHELM THE DISSENTERS AND PERHAPS TAKE AWAY SOME OF THEIR HEADLINE POTENTIAL IN WORLD NEWS MEDIA. ON THE OTHER HAND, THE GOVERNMENT HAS CLEARLY INSTRUCTED THAT STUDENTS NOT BE PROSECUTED FORMALLY OR BE PUT INTO JAIL IF THAT COURSE IS AT ALL POSSIBLE
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TO AVOID.

10. READING BEHIND THIS STATEMENT OF GOI POLICY WE SEE A DILEMMA IN THE MIND OF THE CHIEF POLICYMAKER, THE SHAH. BY RELEASING POLICE GOON SQUADS AGAINST THE DISSIDENTS, AND ON AT LEAST ONE OCCASION AGAINST THE STUDENTS, HE HAS DEMONSTRATED GOOD INTELLIGENCE SOURCES AMONG THE OPPOSITIONISTS AND AN ABILITY TO HURT MANY OF THESE PEOPLE PHYSICALLY AND DISSUADE ANY FURTHER ORGANIZATION OR ACTION. BY THE SAME TOKEN, HE KNOWS HE IS ENCOURAGING EXTREMISM AND RUNNING THE RISK OF APPEARING REPRESSIVE AND TYRANNOUS TO THE WORLD MEDIA, IN PARTICULAR TO THE AMERICAN PRESS.

11. THERE ARE SOME RELATIVE GAINS OVER THE PAST. SECURITY FORCES HAVE NOT ROUNDED UP THOSE WHO SIGNED THE VARIOUS LETTERS, AND THIS IS AN IMPROVEMENT ON THE TREATMENT OF SUCH OPPOSITIONISTS IN RECENT YEARS. SIMILARLY, THE PRESS HAS BEEN ALLOWED TO CARRY SOME POLITICAL NEWS AND REPORT DISTURBANCES WITH IT

WOULD NOT HAVE BEEN PERMITTED TO MENTION IN PREVIOUS YEARS. THE RASTAKHIZ PARTY'S EFFORTS TO ORGANIZE POLITICAL PARTICIPATION HAVE INCLUDED IN PRACTICE CONSIDERABLE PUBLICITY FOR A GOOD MANY PROBLEMS AND ABUSES EXISTING IN TODAY'S IRAN, AND THE FREQUENT EXHORTATIONS ISSUED FROM THE THRONE INDICATE THAT THE SHAH HIMSELF IS CONCERNED THAT SUCH ABUSES BE CORRECTED AND PROBLEMS SOLVED.

12. THERE IS LITTLE DOUBT IN OUR MINDS THAT THE SHAH WOULD PREFER A MORE LIBERALIZED ENVIRONMENT THAN HE HAS PERMITTED TO DATE IF THIS WOULD IMPROVE GOVERNMENT EFFICIENCY AND REDUCE THE CORRUPTION THAT MANY COMPLAIN
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ABOUT IN THIS SOCIETY WITHOUT ENDANGERING HIS ESSENTIAL POLICY-MAKING PREROGATIVES. BY THE SAME TOKEN, HOWEVER, HE SEES LITTLE TO BE GAINED AND MUCH TO BE LOST BY PERMITTING DESTRUCTIVE CRITICISM, ESPECIALLY WHEN THIS COMES FROM DISCREDITED OPPONENTS OF HIS RULE DATING BACK TO THE 1950'S AND 1960'S. EXACTLY WHAT LIMITED CHANGES HE WOULD PERMIT ARE NOT CLEAR TO US, AND WE SUSPECT ARE STILL NOT CLEAR TO THE SHAH HIMSELF. IF THE WRITERS OF LETTERS -- WHO ARE WELL-KNOWN TO THE SECURITY FORCES -- WERE TO AGREE ON A SET OF SPECIFIC, LIMITED POLITICAL REFORMS, IT IS CONCEIVABLE TO US THAT THE SHAH WOULD THINK THEM OVER SERIOUSLY AND PERMIT SOME STRAINS OF OPPOSITION TO ESTABLISH THEMSELVES LEGITIMATELY. THIS HAS NOT YET HAPPENED.

13. BUT THIS IS LIKELY TO BE A PAINFUL PROCESS FOR AN AGING RULER WHO HAS SPENT THE LAST TWENTY TO THIRTY YEARS IN GAINING AND CONSOLIDATING CONTROL OVER HIS COUNTRY'S POLITICAL PROCESSES. HE IS BOUND TO HAVE MANY DOUBTS AS TO WHAT HE IS RISKING BY ALLOWING SUCH OPPOSITION TO SURFACE, EVEN IN A LIMITED WAY. THERE ARE MANY IN THE SECURITY ESTABLISHMENT AND ELSEWHERE WHO COUNSEL GREATER CAUTION AND NO REFORM. UNDER THESE CIRCUMSTANCES, IT WOULD APPEAR LIKELY THAT THE SHAH WILL MOVE ONLY IN CONJUNCTION WITH EXTERNAL PRESSURES OR REQUIREMENTS AS HE COMES TO APPRECIATE THEM.

14. USG STRATEGY MUST, THEREFORE, CONSIDER SEVERAL VERITIES. FIRST, THE SHAH IS WIDELY RECOGNIZED AS PROBABLY THE ONLY VIABLE GOVERNOR OF IRAN TODAY EVEN BY MANY OF HIS OPPONENTS. SECOND, HE IS FIRMLY IN CONTROL, AND NEITHER TERRORIST EXTREMISTS NOR MODERATE DISSIDENTS, NOR INDEED STUDENT DEMONSTRATORS, WILL SHAKE HIS CONTROL. THIRD, THE SHAH'S POLICY IS
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EMINENTLY PRO-AMERICAN AND IN FAVOR OF AREA STABILITY. THUS HIS OVERTHROW OR DEATH COULD ONLY OCCUR BY UNIQUE ACCIDENT; OUR BEST INTELLIGENCE INDICATES THAT NOT EVEN THE TERRORISTS OF LEFT AND RIGHT HAVE SOUGHT IT IN RECENT YEARS.

15. OUR NEXT QUESTION MUST BE WHERE WE WISH TO PUT OUR EMPHASIS. SHOULD IMPROVEMENT OF HUMAN RIGHTS IN TERMS OF AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY INVOLVE PRESSING FOR CHANGES IN THE BASIC REGIME -- E.G., BY REINSTITUTING POLICY-MAKING AUTHORITY IN PARLIAMENT, RESTRICTING THE POWERS OF THE SHAH AND OF HIS GOVERNMENT, ETC. -- OR SHOULD IT AIM AT IMPROVING TREATMENT OF PRISONERS, BUILDING MORE SAFEGUARDS AGAINST FALSE ARREST AND IMPRISONMENT, WORKING FOR GREATER TOLERANCE FOR PEACEFUL CRITICISM OF GOI PERFORMANCE, IMPROVING JUDICIAL EQUITY, ETC? IT SEEMS TO US THIS EMBASSY HAS A MANDATE TO WORK FOR THE SECOND SET OF AIMS, NOT THE FIRST, AND WE JUDGE THIS EMPHASIS TO BE WISE, THE OPTIMUM ACHIEVABLE AT THE PRESENT STAGE OF HISTORY. MOREOVER, IF WE DELIBERATELY PRESS FOR BASIC POLITICAL CHANGES, THIS WILL RAISE IN THE MINDS OF AMANY IRANIANS SPECTRES OF FOREIGN INTERFERENCE IN GOVERNMENT SUCH AS MAKE THE RUSSIANS AND (EVEN TODAY) THE BRITISH DISTRUSTED AND SUSPECT.

16. THE PEACEFUL REVOLUTION REPRESENTED BY THE SHAH-PEOPLE OR "WHITE" REVOLUTION IS A REAL DEVELOPMENT WHICH HAS PRODUCED GREATER SOCIAL EQUITY AND LESS PRIVILEGE IN WHAT IS STILL AN ESSENTIALLY EASTERN SOCIETY TRYING TO TRANSFORM ITSELF INTO A WESTERN ONE. NONE OF IRAN'S NEIGHBORS, RICH OR POOR, WITH THE EXCEPTION OF ISRAEL AND THE POSSIBLE EXCEPTION OF INDIA, CAN BOAST A FREER OR LESS OPPRESSIVE WAY OF GOVERNMENT. CONFIDENTIAL

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MOREOVER, THE MARCH OF WESTERN ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT, COUPLED WITH VOLUNTARY POPULAR EMULATION OF THINGS WESTERN (MAINLY THE U.S., FRENCH, BRITISH, GERMAN AND ITALIAN) IS PRODUCING ITS OWN CHANGE IN THE VALUE SYSTEM OF A PEOPLE. THIS IS BOUND OVER A PERIOD OF YEARS TO LEAD TO GREATER POLITICAL PARTICIPATION.

17. MEANWHILE, IT IS A FACT THAT POLITICAL PARTICIPATION WILL BE LIMITED. OUR WN AIM SHOULD BE TO ON-TINUE ENCOURAGING A DECREASE OF HARSHNESS AND OF INEQUITABLE TREATMENT OF POLITICAL OPPOSITION BY THE SECURITY FORCES. THUS, WE WOULD HOPE TO HELP A SPIRIT OF MODERATION REMAIN IN BEING BELOW THE SURFACE-- EVEN IF IT REMAINS RELATIVELY INACTIVE -- TO ALLOW FOR

ITS RE-EMERGENCE IN FUTURE YEARS. FOR THOSE YEARS ARE
BOUND TO COME, GIVEN THE RATE OF PRO-WESTERN ECONOMIC
AND SOCIAL CHANGE WHICH THE SHAH IS FOSTERING, AND HIS
CARE TO RESTRAIN THOSE ASPECTS OF ARCH-CONSERVATIVE
ISLAMIC INFLUENCE WHICH MIGHT IN OTHER SOCIETIES
RETARD OR REVERSE WESTERNIZED ECONOMIC, SOCIAL AND
EVENTUALLY POLITICAL LIBERALIZATION.

SULLIVAN UNQTE
CHRISTOPHER

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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 22-Sep-1999 12:00:00 am
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: STUDENT DEMONSTRATIONS
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Sent Date: 31-Dec-1977 12:00:00 am
Decaption Date: 01-Jan-1960 12:00:00 am
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 22 May 2009
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1977STATE311056
Document Source: ADS
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter:
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: 11652 GDS
Errors: n/a
Expiration:
Film Number: D780004-1010
Format: TEL
From: STATE
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1977/newtext/t197712111/baaaeuvj.tel
Line Count: 337
Litigation Code IDs:
Litigation Codes:
Litigation History:
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, TEXT ON MICROFILM
Message ID: 76f75dfc-c188-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Office: ORIGIN NEA
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 7
Previous Channel Indicators:
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: n/a
Retention: 0
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 18-Nov-2004 12:00:00 am
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review Media Identifier:
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
SAS ID: 120073
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: COMMENT ON RECENT STUDENT AND DISSIDENT DISTURBANCES
TAGS: PINS, SHUM, IR
To: ABU DHABI BAGHDAD MULTIPLE
Type: TE
vdkgvwkey: odb://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/76f75dfc-c188-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Review Markings:
Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
22 May 2009
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009